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ABSTRACT

The development of message strategies is dependent on the underlying social cognitive structures through which they are formulated. (1) Research in the area has produced six generalizations concerning the development of persuasive skills: individuals' interpersonal perceptions change systematically with age; (2) children's persuasive strategies become increasingly sophisticated at adapting to the perspective of the listener; (3) the acquisition of adaptative strategies is dependent on social cognitive development; (4) social cognitive development is a necessary but an insufficient condition for communicative adaptation; (5) children's abilities to provide a rationale or justification for particular persuasive messages show a developmental trend that is correlated with differentiation, abstractness, and the level of adaptation reflected in persuasive messages generated for independent situations; and (6) allowing children to select from preformulated messages, even when these messages are explicitly constructed to represent varying levels of listener adaptation, provides a poor assessment of communicative development. These structures suggest that any program of training to facilitate communication development in children must be tied to the development of the underlying requisite social cognitive skills. (HOD)

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSUASIVE SKILLS:

A Research Summary with a Discussion of Pedagogical Implications

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSUASIVE SKILLS: A RESEARCH SUMMARY WITH A DISCUSSION OF PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Efforts to teach communicative skills ought to be guided by an understanding of communicative development and the social cognitive development underpinning that communicative development. Our field's traditional concern with the study of and instruction in strategic communication allows us to make a unique contribution to the study of development in control over message strategies as well as to incorporate this understanding in our teaching of communicative skills. Strategic communication explicitly and implicitly simultaneously addresses three objectives: the overtly instrumental objective (e.g., intelligibility, persuasion, etc.), the interpersonal objective of establishing and maintaining a particular relationship with the other, and identity objectives of creating and maintaining the desired identity for the self and the other.[1] Thus it would be possible to examine communicative development for the accomplishment of any or all of these objectives. This paper is more narrowly focused. Since much of our work has centered on persuasive communications, we shall rely on findings in that domain. We have no reason to believe, however, that the generalizations cited are unique to persuasive communications. We outline some generalizations emerging from our research on the development of persuasive communicative skills in children[2] and then sketch some of the pedagogical implications of this line of work.

Some Generalizations Concerning the Development of Persuasive Skills

For us, when concerned with the instrumental objective of persuasion, the developmentally more advanced message is one which reflects greater social perspective taking and listener adaptation. As O'Keefe and Delia explain,

> The ability to represent the characteristics and perspective of a listener plays a central role in the construction of persuasive messages. Strategic communication is designed to elicit desired responses from a listener, and thus effective strategy choices depend on the communicator's capacity to make tacit inferences and predictions concerning the auditor's likely responses to alternative strategies. While . . . such predictions may be made on the basis of shared cultural knowledge . . . in interpersonal communication the primary basis of social prediction is the direct construal of the auditor s psychological characteristics (e.g., subjective beliefs, attitudes, aspects of character, emotional state, and so forth).[3]

Two important points must be drawn from this quotation. First, there are a number of ways of conceptualizing listener adaptation and secondly, the way in which we conceptualize listener adaptation in our research leads naturally to a concern with social cognitive development as the basis for listener adaptation. We will take up each of these points in turn and further elaborate them.

The long standing argument concerning whether children are or are not egocentric is certainly evidence that adaptation can occur at many levels. One can assess adaptation in terms of mean utterance length depending on whether one's listener is a 2-year-old, a 4-year-old peer, or an adult. Other measures of adaptation reflect sensitivity to the beliefs, emotional states, etc. of the unique individual one is addressing. We are concerned with the latter type of listener adptation. Perhaps our conception of the development of listener adaptation can best be illustrated by detailing the initial hierarchy developed to assess the level of message adaptation in persuasive messages.

In one situation the child was asked to persuade his/her mother to allow him/her to have a slumber party. The messages generated by the children are coded at one of four levels. The lowest level in the hierarchy was a simple request unaccompanied by any justification. For example, the child might say, "Mom, can I have a slumber party?" The lack of justification suggests that the child is either unaware that the persuader may have a different perspective

on this matter or at the very least is unable to accomodate in any way to that perspective or feels that it is unnecessary to accomodate. At the second level were appeals based on the needs or wants of the persuader (the child). For example, the child might say, "Mom, I really, really want a slumber party. Can I please have one? Please, pretty please." This approach indicates that the child's primary concern is his/her own perspecitve, not that of the persuadee. At the third level came anticipation of potential counterarguments with attempts to refute these potential objections. For example the child might say, "I won't invite too many people and I promise we won't be too noisy." Such a message indicates that the persuader not only recognizes that the persuadee may have differing views concerning the request, but also recognizes the necessity of dealing directly with these objections. At the highest level in the hierarchy were attempts to make the views of the persuader primary, i.e., to indicate why the request would directly benefit the persuadee. For example the child might say, "Mom, you know you said you'd like to get to know my friends. Well, I was wondering if I could have a slumber party. This would gice you a chance to get to know some of my friends better and it would be a lot of fun." Such an approach suggests that the child's efforts are guided primariiy by an attempt to adapt to the views of the persuadee. This extended example was intended to serve two purposes: (1) to clarify what we mean by listener adaptation and (2) to foreshadow the centrality of social perception and social cognitive development to our conception of communicative development.

This conception of communicative development leads naturally to a concern with the social cognitive developments underpinning this ability to adapt one's message to a listener, since the stable, qualitative character of individual psychological structures and processes constrain the level of communicative adaptation possible. It is for this reason that a paper ostensibly focused on

the deveolpment of persuasive skills begins with generalizations concerning social cognitive development. Our argument is that an understanding of social cognitive development is essential to an understanding of communicative development and is certainly prerequisite to any effective attempt to influence communicative performance. In other words, our concern with the development of message strategies cannot proceed independent of knowledge of the underlying social cognitive structures through which they are formulated.

1. Individual's interpersonal perceptions change systematically with age such that a fuller understanding of the underlying causes of another's behavior is achieved.

There are a number of developmental axes along which we could characterize this development. The most important of these in our work include the movement from globality to differentiation, from diffuseness to integration, from concreteness to abstractness, from egocentrism to perspectivism, and from lability to stability. This suggests that the normal individual can be expected to develop an increasingly larger number of dimensions for understanding other individuals. Additionally, the quality of these dimensions used for understanding others changes over time. The movement is from more concrete dimensions focusing on physical characteristics and concrete behaviors to more abstract constructs focusing on motivations and dispositional characteristics of the other. This movement to the use of abstract dimensions for understanding others facilitates the development of more stable, integrated understandings recognizing the individuality of perspectives.

We have two procedures we generally use for assessing social cognitive development. A fuller elaboration of these will provide a concrete example to facilitate understanding.

Typically we assess the way an individual construes others simply by asking for free response descriptions of well known others. We derive a number of assessments from these descriptions. First we use the total number of different

attributes mentioned as a measure of cognitive differentiation in interpersonal perception. The number of dimensions used for understanding others increases with age; the correlations between age and differentiation range from .33 to .56. To assess abstractness we divide the attributes mentioned into concrete (e.g., physical characteristics, behavioral descriptions, and demographic characteristics) and abstract (e.g., general attitudes, beliefs, values, psychological traits, dispositions, and motivations). An assessment of abstractness can then be determined either by a weighted sum of these attributes or by calculating the proportion of abstract to concrete attributes. The developmental trend is from the use of concrete to abstract attributions; the correlation between abstractness and age is .70. Although we also have scoring procedures for assessing the extent to which the impressions display an integrated understanding of the other, we will not detail this here as we have done little systematic work to date exploring the relationship of integration to message adaptation in children.

Related to the ability to characterize the psychological states of others is the ability to understand the perspective of the other in specific situations, i.e., to understand their feelings, thoughts, and motives. A procedure we have used to assess the facility in taking the perspective of another is to ask children to describe an occasion when someone hurt their feelings. We have a set of probes to elicit from the child his or her beliefs concerning why the other person acted as he/she did. These responses are assessed to determine the extent to which the child is able (1) to recognize and coordinate the viewpoints of all the participants in the interaction and (2) to understand the recursive nature of perspectives (i.e. does the child realize that not only does he have thoughts and feelings about the other, but also that the other has thoughts and feelings about him and his thoughts and feelings.) The system for coding responses is a hierarchy which reflects increasing levels of understanding of the other. The

ability to take the perspective of the other advances with age; a correlation of .46 had been obtained between age and social perspective taking.

In summary, children's understanding of others shows systematic changes with development such that a richer understanding of the other is achieved through the use of larger number of more abstract, stable dimensions which allow them to take the perspective of the other more successfully in specific situations.

2. Children's persuasive strategies become increasingly sophisticated in adapting to the perspective of the listener.

That is, there are age-related differences in the extent to which messages are listener adapted. To study a broader age range, the original four level scoring hierarchy for assessing messages was elaborated, but the principle underpinning the hierarchy remains the same. Using both the original system and the more fully elaborated system, the correlation between age and scores on the persuasive task ranged between .59 and .64. Thus, as children get older, they evidence increasingly greater sensitivity to the views of others in the construction of their persuasive messages.

3. The acquisition of adaptive strategies is dependent on social cognitive development.

Consistently high correlations have been found between listener adapted messages and differentiation (r= .53 to .64), abstractness (r = .64), social perspective taking (r = .64). In fact, particular cognitive developments have been found to be differentially related to message adaptation at different points in development. In early childhood, differentiation is the best predictor of the level of message adaptation with abstractness esentially unrelated to the level of adaptation. In late childhood, differentiation and abstractness were both good predictors of the level of persuasive adaptation although differentiation was still a significantly better predictor. In adolescense and adulthood once

again differentiation and abstractness are significantly correlated with strategic adaptation, but now abstractness is the superior predictor. While these correlations strongly suggest the importance of social cognitive abilities to communicate adaptation, more direct evidence is available.

A clear developmental progression emerged when we focused explicitly on the relationship between the ability to identify communication relevant differences in individuals and to make appropriate adaptations in the message. In one study involving children from six to twelve years old, we used a modification of a procedure developed by Alvy in which we asked children to construct pairs of persuasive messages with the same objective but directed toward two different message recipients. In one case, for instance, the child was instructed to request that a neighbor retrieve a ball which had gone over the neighbor's fence. The neighbor was pictured one time as a smiling, friendly-looking man and in the other case as a stern, grouchy-looking man. Prior to constructing the message the child was asked to describe each man. After generating the message the child was asked to describe any differences in his/her message and explain why he had not said anything different to the two. Finally, the child was asked if the characteristic of the message recipient he had previously identified had made any difference in the way in which he had asked the two. Responses were scored with an eight-level hierarchy which took account of (1) the identification of communication-relevant listener differences, (2) the display of an understanding of the relevance of listener-differences for the communicative task at hand, and (3) the ability to adapt the message in light of these listener differences.

At level one, no communication relevant differences in the two listeners was identified, nor was the message modified for the two. For example, when asked about the difference in the two men the child might say, "This one has a

blue shirt and that one has a green shirt." The child then generated identical messages to the two. At all succeeding levels the child is able to identify the communication relevant difference. At level two the child fails to realize that this difference in message recipients has implications for his message. In other words, while the child identifies salient differences between the two message targets, he/she still uses the same message for the two. At levels three and four the child sees the listener differences as having implications only for the outcome of his message. In other words, as in level two the child identifies a communication relevant differences and directs an identical message to the two targets, but the child recognized that the two men may respond differently. The distinguishing feature between levels three and four is the child's ability to articulate the reason for differing outcomes. At level four the child is able to explain that the affective state of the message recipient will result in different outcomes, while at level three the child can only predict differing outcomes and displays no understanding of why those differences occur. Levels five through eight represent varying levels of explanation of the implications of listener differences for message adaptation. At level five the child indicates awareness that the message must be modified without being able to articulate how he/she would adapt the message. At level six, the child is able to articulate the message adaptation at a global level, (e.g., "I'd be nicer to this one."), but is unable to specify how this adaptation of being nicer was to be accomplished. Levels seven and eight both articulate generally and specifically how message adaptation is to be accomplished. They vary only in the elaborateness of such specification.

An analysis of the relationship between social cognitive development and listener adaptation indicates stable individual differences in communicative abilities as a function of social cognitive development. At all ages children

with differentiated construct systems were more likely than their less differiated counterparts to notice relevant differences in the two message recipients and make appropriate adaptations. The level at which messages are adapted to the target's perspective increases with social cognitive development. Thus, the results reveal that not only do children's persuasive strategies become increasingly sophisticated in adapting to the perspective of the listener, but that their control over strategic adaptation is in part dependent upon social cognitive development.

4. Social cognitive development is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for communicative adaptation.

The relationship between cognition and behavior is not straight-forward; social cognitive development may not immediately result in message adaptation if the child either fails to recognize the relevance of listener characteristics for the communicative task at hand or is unable to exercise adequate control over the communicative code. For example, in the study just mentioned, identifications of listener characteristics relevant to the communicative objective resulted in listener adaptation for only 35.56% of the cases among 6-year-olds, 50% among 8- and 10-year-olds, and 69.49% among 12-year-olds. The child may fail to make the necessary adaptation for two reasons. First, he/she may fail to see the relevance of listener attributes for his communicative goals. Additionally, the failure to adapt may result from inadequate control over language and strategies.

5. Children's abilities to provide a rationale or justification for particular persuasive messages show a developmental trend which is correlated with differentiation, abstractness, and the level of adaptation reflected in persuasive messages generated for independent situations.

It is important to realize that the correlation between social cognitive development and message adaptation is attenuated by the fact that a particular message choice may in fact represent a higher level of listener adaptation than our scoring hierarchy would capture. In other words, a lower level strategy

in a particular situation cannot be taken as evidence that the child is incapable of higher levels of adaptation. When particular listeners do not require adaptation for the accomplishment of communicative goals, the child may well use a lower level message. The message is in fact well adapted to the listener but our message scoring hierarchy will not capture this adaptation. The point we are trying to make here is that the speaker concerned with effectiveness may not need to construct a message overtly displaying sensitivity to the others' perspective to accomplish his/her goals. So messages suitably adapted to the listener for accomplishing the communicative task may not on their surface display sophisticated understanding and adaptation to the listener's perspective. In other words, a very low level strategy may be selected for reasons which embody considerable understanding of the particular individuals to whom the message is directed. For this reason we have also investigated the explanations or justifications children offer for particular messages choices. We developed a system for assessing the understanding of the other displayed in the rationale for message selection. Lower levels include no rationale, simple restatement of selection, or personal preference. Next came adaptations on the basis of social knowledge of generalized others such as implicit norms and generalized norms which might apply to any other interactant. Higher levels made knowledge of the particular other basis for adaptation. These higher levels were further differentiated into those which referred to external conditions affecting the particular persuadee versus those which referred to specific preferences or internal states of the particular persuadee. The highest level encompassed references to stable, psychological states of the individual persuadee. Rationales for persuasive strategy choice correlates .56 with grade level, .45 with differentiation, and .48 with abstractness. Interestingly, the rationale for messages selection in one situation and the level of listener adaptation in spontaneous persuasive messages in different persuasive situations on different

persuasive situations on different topics correlated .47. Thus, the sensitivity to the listener displayed in providing a rationale for a persuasive strategy in one situation is related to the level of adaptation children are capable of spontaneously displaying in different situations. This suggests that individuals not only must possess social cognitive abilities which enable them to think of others in useful ways to be able to generate well adapted messages, but they also acquire the ability to be reflective about these choices as a function of social cognitive development. Our present research does not indicate whether this reflective ability precedes or follows the ability to generate adapted messages.

6. Allowing children to select from pre-formulated messages even when these messages are explicitly constructed to represent varying levels of listener adaptation provides a poor assessment of communicative development.

It has been suggested that asking children to spontaneously generate messages on-the-spot may be a poor way of assessing their true capacities leading to an underassessment of their abilities. An alternative research strategy is to present children with previously constructed messages and require them to identify the message they would use in a particular situation. It has been argued that this would provide more reliable estimates of communicative abilities without as much interference from performance factors. While this research strategy on its surface appears to present children with an easier task, this in fact may not be true. Constructing messages to targets and circumstances as they present themselves on the spot more closely approximates normal behavior, while selecting messages from an array requires the child to engage in comparison processing of messages while holding an understanding of the particular target in mind. This increased demand in information processing may exceed the capabilities of the child such that little information concerning the child's communicative skills is acquired when employing this research strategy. We have investigated this alternative research strategy with children.

For example, we asked children to imagine themselves in a situation in which they wished to persuade their fathers to purchase them a bicycle. The child was then presented with four messages and asked to select from among the four, the one he/she would be most likely to use. The messages were explicitly constructed to represent differing levels of listener adaptation. One message was designed to focus on the needs and wants of the child, i.e., the child would really like a bike cause it would be lots of fun. A second message was constructed to anticipate counterarguments. The message added that the child would be careful and watch for cars. A third message focused on the needs and wants of the persuadee. This message added that the bike would enable the child to run errands for the parent. The fourth and final message choice was again designed to reflect the interests of the persuadee, but the focus was on the persuadee as a social self., i.e., as viewed by others. This strategy was embodied in the statement that the persuadee was a good father and always tried to do what was best for the child.

An analysis of the responses of children from kindergarten through twelfth grade revealed no developmental progression in message selection. Older children were as likely to use lower level strategies as young children. The level of listener adaptation in selected messages was unrelated to grade level ($r = -.03$), unrelated to differentiation ($r = -.04$), abstractness ($r = -.06$), level of listener adaptation in spontaneously generated persuasive messages ($r = .04$), and level of listener adaptation reflected in the rationale for message selection ($r = -.10$). It is unclear on what basis the child is selecting the persuasive message, but its failure to relate to social cognitive development causes us to question the reliability of this method as a procedure for assessing communicative development.

Pedagogical Implications

The pedagogical implications of our work must necessarily be suggestive at this point, for we are only now initiating projects designed specifically to alter the communicative behavior of children. We shall consider implications in terms of our goals for facilitating children's communicative development, methods of assessment of level of development, and suggestions for directly facilitating the child's development.

1. Attempts at modification of the child's communicative behavior might be directed both toward expanding the child's repertoire of communicative strategies, and equally important, the child's understanding of appropriate usage of these strategies.

As noted earlier, there is a clear developmental progression in the use of persuasive strategies. Older children use approaches which younger children do not, specifically, those strategies which focus on the views of the persuadee, i.e., responding to counterarguments and offering direct benefits to the persuadee. Thus the older child has more options from which to select in dealing with a specific situation. If we desire to facilitate the child's communicative development, then, one objective might well be to expand the communicative strategies available to the child, and in particular to aid the child in using strategies adapted to the views of others.

We should not, however, encourage the child to use consistently what we have labeled "higher level" persuasive strategies. For as we have suggested, strategies which explicitly reveal awareness of the feelings of the other are not always more effective. Quite to the contrary, there are times when seemingly low level strategies, such as stressing the child's own desires or needs, might well be more appropriate.

Surely one factor affecting the success of using any strategy is the quality of the specific content of the argument. To be effective, the justification for action offered by the persuader must be both plausible and positively

evaluated by the persuadee. Suppose a young mother asks a friend to babysit for her. The friend may not be moved by the attempt to appeal to the interests of the friend if the mother suggests that babysitting will expand the friend's understanding of children. By contrast, a "lower level" appeal based on the persuader's self interests, such as the mother's statement that she's exhausted and needs help, might be quite effective.

Beyond the quality of the specific argument, the role relationship between the persuader and persuadee may bear on the relative effectiveness of various strategies. When the persuader is addressing someone who cares greatly about him or her, such as a child addressing a doting father, a simple statement of the persuader's needs may be very effective. When the persuader addresses others with less concern for him or her, other strategies may be more effective if the quality of the corresponding arguments is roughly equivalent.

The point to be made, then, is that it is desirable for the child to have a wide range of options available, but he/she should realize that there is no simple hierarchy of effectiveness associated with these strategies. Hence if we deliberately undertake efforts to expand the repetoire of strategies of the child, we should simultaneously sensitize the child to such a realization, and provide what guidelines seem sensible for their usage. Encouraging such realization, then, should be a goal accompanying our efforts to increase the child's range of strategies.

2. Assessment of the level of communicative development of the child may be more accurate if we elicit actual messages from the child along with an accompanying explanation for the choices embodied in the message rather than asking the child to select from preformulated messages.

It is apparent that we should avoid the temptation of asking children to choose among preformulated messages as a method of assessing communicative development. This procedure is easy to administer and simple to score, but our results indicate that it bears no relationship to the kinds of messages children generate spontaneously.

A better alternative, then, is to provide children with realistic situations and ask to them indicate what they actually would say in such a situation. The messages produced can then be scored by a system similar to the four-level one described earlier which reflects the level of adaptation embodied in the message.

We noted earlier, however, that there are times when a child might use a seemingly low level appeal, but do so for very good reasons, as in the case of the child addressing the father who likes to lavish gifts and attention on the child. Hence the best indicant of the child's level of development may be the explanation the child provides for the choice of approach. To code these explanations, a system analogous to the one employed in the study where children selected among alternative messages could be used. With appropriate questioning, explanations reveal the extent to which the child is sensitive to the beliefs and feelings of the other and the degree to which this awareness shapes the message.

3. It may be possible through direct training efforts to expand the child's social cognitive abilities which are requisite to communication development, to expand the child's repertoire of communicative strategies, and to sensitize children to appropriate use of these strategies.

Our program of research has not until now incorporated any attempts at direct training. The work of others, however, suggests the possibility to improve the child's awareness of the perspectives of others. Training in role taking or perspective taking has been shown to have some impact on prosocial behavior among emotionally disturbed children, altruistic behavior, and interpersonal problem solving.[4] Since there is evidence that social cognitive skills are prerequisite to effectively adapting messages, those interested in facilitating the development of communicative skills in children might actively encourage the child to broaden the construct system used to think about other people, or to think more specifically about the beliefs and feelings of others.

One could design studies to measure the impact of such training on the messages the child constructs.[5]

And, of course, attempts can be made to directly alter the communicative behavior of the child. Currently we are involved in a very limited attempt to expand the repertoire of persuasive strategies of fourth graders. Our approach is to describe and illustrate the three types of appeals available to a persuader in a variety of situations in which the children might find themselves, such as encouraging another child to join their basketball team at recess or asking a neighbor to hire them to rake leaves. After describing the approaches, the child is asked to produce examples of each strategy in a series of other situations. If the child is unable to do so, the explanation and illustrations are again provided. After a training session of approximately thirty minutes of this sort, the child then is confronted with different situations and asked to construct persuasive messages. From these messages we can determine whether the child uses a wider variety of strategies and more adaptive ones than were displayed prior to training. Retesting for persistence of changes will be done at a later time. Such a procedure will enable us to determine whether it is possible to directly expand the repertoire of strategies available to the child. We suspect, of course, that the impact will be greater for children who already have acquired the requisite social cognitive abilities.

Finally, if individuals wish to facilitate the communicative development of children, it quite likely is useful to encourage the child to be reflective about the process. We noted earlier that there is a correlation between the level of development displayed in the child's message and his or her ability to explain why the message was constructed in a particular way. Thus regardless of whether we attempt to teach children additional message strategies, it probably is wise to encourage them to reflect upon the choices they already make.

We can ask them what reasons they had for believing that a particular approach would be effective. We can ask them to think about things which they know have been important to the persuadee in similar situations. And we can ask them to think about times when they have seen the persuadee seem to respond favorably to other messages.

Surely it is apparent that we are not yet at a point where it is prudent to offer a program of training to facilitate communication development in children. The most important guideline we can suggest currently is that we would urge such a program be tied to the development of the underlying requisite social cognitive skills.

Footnotes

1. For an elaboration of this distinction see Ruth Anne Clark and Jesse G. Delia, "Topoi and Rhetorical Competence," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 65 (1979), 187-206. For further references on work addressing relational objectives see: Brant R. Burleson, "Studies of Affect Sensitive Communication, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, in preparation; Brant R. Burleson, "An Empirical Investigation of the Development of Affect-sensitive communication in First through Twelfth-Graders and Implications for Pro-Social Communication Skills Training," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Speech Communication Association, 1980; Brant R. Burleson, "Relationally Oriented Construct System Content and Messages Directed to an Affectively Distressed Listener: An Exploratory Study, Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Speech Communication Association, 1978; and Ruth Anne Clark, "The Impact of Self-interest and Desire for Liking on the Selection of Communicative strategies," Communication Monographs, 46 (1979), 257-273. For further work that addresses identity objectives see: Susan L. Kline, "Identity Management Strategies in Adolescents and Young Adults: Research Findings and Implications for Teaching Persuasion," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Speech Communication Association, 1980; and Susan L. Kline, Social Cognitive Determinants of Face Support in Persuasive Messages, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, in preparation.

2. For references on social cognitive development see: Jesse G. Delia, Brant R. Burleson, and Susan L. Kline, "Developmental Differences in Interpersonal Impressions in Childhood and Adolescence," Journal of Genetic Psychology, in press; Jesse G. Delia, Ruth Anne Clark and David W. Switzer, "Cognitive Complexity and Impression Formation in Informal Social Interaction," Speech Monographs, 41 (1974) 119-126; Walter H. Crockett, "Cognitive Complexity and Impression Formation," in Progress in Experimental Personality Research, II, ed. Brendan A. Maher (New York: Academic Press, 1965), pp. 47-90; Claudia Hale and Jesse G. Delia, "Cognitive complexity and Social Perspective-Taking," Communication Monographs, 43 (1976), 195-203; W. J. Livesley and D. B. Bromley, Person Perception in Childhood and Adolescence, (London: Wiley, 1973); B. J. Peevers and P. F. Secord, "Developmental Changes in Attributions of Descriptive Concepts to Persons," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 27 (1973), 120-128; Helaine H. Scarlett, Allan N. Press, and Walter H. Crockett, "Children's Description of Peers: A Wernerian Developmental Analysis," Child Development, 42 (1971), 439-453; and D. M. Wegner, "Attribute Generality: The Development and Articulation of Attributes in Person Perception, Journal of Research in Personality, 11 (1977), 329-339. For theoretical references on children's development in persuasive skills see Jesse G. Delia and Barbara J. O'Keefe, "Constructivism: The Development of Communication in Children," in Children Communicating, ed. Ellen A. Wartella (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1979), pp. 157-185. For additional references on research investigating persuasive skill development in children see: Kerby T. Alby, "The Development of listener Adapted Communication in Grade-school Children from Differnet Social-class Backgrounds," Genetic Psychology Monographs, 87 (1973), 33-104; Ruth Anne Clark and Jesse G. Delia, "Cognitive Complexity, Social Perspective-taking, and Functional Persuasive Skills in Second- to Ninth-grade Children," Human Communication Research, 3 (1977), 128-134; Ruth Anne Clark and Jesse G. Delia, "The

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3. O'Keefe and Delia.

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